

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03

NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 USIA-15 TRSE-00

MBFR-04 SAJ-01 DODE-00 SS-15 NSC-10 DRC-01 ACDA-19

EB-11 CEA-02 CIEP-02 OMB-01 STR-08 SCEM-02 SCI-06

EPA-04 CEQ-02 AID-20 /195 W
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P R 071218Z SEP 73

FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7631

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 COPENHAGEN 2150

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, EEC, NATO, DA

SUBJ: EC POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETING SEPT. 4-5.

1. SUMMARY: DANES BELIEVE POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETING
MADE PROGRESS AND THAT FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING SEPT. 10-11
MAY RESULT IN DECISION TO INVITE PRESIDENT TO VISIT EUROPE.
FRENCH, HOWEVER, HAD BEEN INSISTENT THAT THERE COULD BE NO IN-
STITUTIONALIZATION OF DIALOGUE BETWEEN NINE AND THE US. POLITICAL
DIRECTORS HAD PREPARED A DRAFT PAPER FOR THEIR MINISTERS TO CONSIDER
WHICH MIGHT BE USED AS THE BASIS FOR AN EVENTUAL DECLARATION

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AT THE TIME OF A PRESIDENTIAL VISIT. IF THE NINE DESIRE, THE DANES

WOULD UNDERTAKE TO DISCUSS THIS PAPER WITH THE US, PERHAPS IN A MEETING BETWEEN FONMIN ANDERSEN AND SECRETARY KISSINGER LATER THIS MONTH WHEN ANDERSEN IS IN NEW YORK. END SUMMARY.

2. MFA'S POLITICAL DIRECTOR OLDENBURG TOLD DCM SEPT. 6 THAT POLITICAL DIRECTORS' MEETING WHICH HE HAD CHAIRED HERE SEPT. 4 AND 5 HAD "GONE WELL". HE ATTRIBUTED THIS TO THOROUGH PREPARATION BY COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENTS AND TO "POSITIVE ATTITUDE" ON PART OF ALL POLITICAL DIRECTORS (PARIS 23540). IT WAS CLEAR, OLDENBURG SAID, THAT THERE WAS A GROWING FEELING AMONG THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES THAT THE TIME HAD COME TO "DO SOMETHING" ABOUT THE AMERICAN INITIATIVE AND THUS PREPARE THE WAY FOR A VISIT BY THE PRESIDENT. IT SEEMED TO BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED THAT IF THE PRESIDENT CAME TO EUROPE HE WOULD BE ENGAGED WITH NATO AS WELL AS WITH THE EC COUNCIL AND, PERHAPS, WITH THE NINE AS SUCH.

3. THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS HAD TRIED TO DRAW UP A LIST OF SUBJECTS WHICH COULD BE DISCUSSED WITH THE PRESIDENT. THEY WANTED TO FIND A FORMULA AS A BASIS FOR THE TALKS OUT OF WHICH COULD EMERGE "A DECLARATION OR A COMMUNIQUE OR SOME PAPER". THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS HAD DONE A DRAFT FOR THE FONMINS TO CONSIDER IN THEIR SEPT. 10-11 MEETING. THEY HAD FELT THAT IF THE MINISTERS REACHED AGREEMENT ON WHAT IS BEING PROPOSED TO THEM IT WOULD BE GOOD IF COUNCIL PRESIDENT K.B. ANDERSEN CALLED IN THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AND GAVE HIM A MESSAGE ON BEHALF OF THE NINE WHICH WOULD INVITE THE PRESIDENT TO COME TO EUROPE. OLDENBURG SAID THAT SPEEDY TRANSMISSION TO WASHINGTON OF THE MESSAGE WOULD PROBABLY BE REQUESTED BECAUSE ALL WERE CERTAIN THAT THE PRESS WOULD BE "YAPPING". AT THEM FOR HARD NEWS. HE SAID THAT EACH MINISTER WOULD PRESUMABLY TALK TO HIS NATIONAL PRESS REPRESENTATIVES AFTER NEXT WEEK'S MEETING HERE, AND IMPLIED THAT THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS HAVE LITTLE CHANCE OF CONTROLLING WHAT THE MINISTERS SAY. HOWEVER, THEY DID NOT WANT THE PRESIDENT TO LEARN OF THE MINISTER'S DECISION (I.E; INVITATION) "FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES".

4. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION, OLDENBURG SAID THAT POLITICAL DIRECTORS HAD OPERATED FROM A BRITISH DRAFT IN THIS WEEK'S MEETING. THE FRENCH HAD BEEN "RATHER POSITIVE" BUT HAD INSISTED THAT, WHATEVER WAS AGREED UPON, THERE SHOULD BE NO INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE NINE AND THE US. SECURITY MATTERS WOULD HAVE TO BE

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DISCUSSED IN THE NATO FORUM. THIS MEANT, OLDENBURG SAID, THAT THE NINE FAVORED TWO PAPERS OR COMMUNIQUEs RESULTING FROM A PRESIDENTIAL VISIT: ONE FROM HIS MEETING WITH NATO AND ONE FROM HIS MEETING WITH THE NINE. (THIS LEAVES OUT THE QUESTION OF ANY STATEMENT AFTER A MEETING WITH THE EC COUNCIL.)

5. THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS HAD DELIBERATELY NOT RECOMMENDED TO THEIR MINISTERS WHERE MEETINGS WITH THE PRESIDENT SHOULD TAKE PLACE.

NOR HAD THEY BEEN ABLE TO AGREE UPON WHOM HE SHOULD MEET. THE FRENCH HAD MADE IT CLEAR THAT POMPIDOU WOULD NOT TURN UP AT A MEETING IN EITHER THE NATO OR EC CONTEXT. AS AN ASIDE, OLDENBURG SAID THAT DANISH AMBASSADOR BARTELS MIGHT HAVE PUT IT "TOO SQUARELY" WHEN HE TOLD DEPUTY SECRETARY RUSH THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD MEET WITH FOREIGN MINISTERS. THIS SUBJECT HAD NOT REALLY BEEN DECIDED.

OLDENBURG EMPHASIZED.
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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 COPENHAGEN 2150

SUBJ: EC POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETING SEPT. 4-5.

6. STRESSING THAT HE COULD NOT GO INTO DETAILS, OLDENBURG SAID THAT THE PAPER THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS HAD PREPARED FOR THEIR MINISTERS AS A POSSIBLE PAPER FOR AGREEMENT WITH THE PRESIDENT TOUCHED UPON BOTH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC QUESTIONS. IT CONTAINED A PREAMBLE AND SOME GENERAL PRINCIPLES. THERE WAS LANGUAGE FROM THE ECPARIS SUMMIT, INCLUDING A REITERATION OF THE INTENTION TO BUILD UP A EUROPEAN UNION AND TO HAVE GOOD RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES. THE PAPER MENTIONS CLOSE LINKS BETWEEN THE US AND THE
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NINE--COMMON HERITAGE, IDEALS, DEMOCRACY, ETC. THE PARTIES WOULD DECLARE THAT THEY STILL ABIDE BY THESE. MOST IMPORTANT, ACCORDING TO OLDENBURG, WOULD BE THE PAPER'S INDICATION THAT THE US AND THE NINE STILL HUNG TOGETHER, THAT THE US SUPPORTED BUILDING OF A UNION AMONG THE NINE, AND THAT THE NINE IN TURN AFFIRMED THAT CLOSER LINKS WITH THE US WERE IMPORTANT. THE PAPER MENTIONS RELATIONS WITH INDUSTRIALIZED STATES AND WITH DEVELOPING STATES. IT DECLARES THAT THE US AND THE NINE HAVE IN COMMON A DESIRE TO WORK FOR DETENTE. IT NOTES THAT THE US AND THE NINE ARE DETERMINED TO WORK TOGETHER AND WITH OTHERS IN VARIOUS FORA ON PROBLEMS IN SUCH FIELDS AS TRADE, DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, THE ENVIRONMENT, ETC.

7. OLDENBURG SAID THAT WHEN HE HAD BRIEFED JAPANESE AMBASSADOR HITOMI ALONG THE ABOVE LINES, THE LATTER HAD ASKED PLAINTIVELY: "BUT WHERE DOES JAPAN COME IN?" OLDENBURG SAID HE HAD TOLD HITOMI THAT THE DRAFT UNDER DISCUSSION WAS LIMITED TO AFFAIRS BETWEEN THE US AND THE NINE. HE HAD POINTED TO THE REFERENCE TO RELATIONS WITH INDUSTRIALIZED STATES WHICH OF COURSE INCLUDED JAPAN. ALSO JAPAN WOULD HAVE TO FIGURE IN WHEN THERE WAS A DISCUSSION ABOUT TRADE AND MONETARY MATTERS.

8. IF THE MINISTERS DECIDE POSITIVELY NEXT WEEK ON THIS PROPOSED PAPER, THE PROBLEM WOULD ARISE, OLDENBURG SAID, OF HOW TO LET THE PRESIDENT AND HIS ADVISERS PUT IN A WORD. IF THE NINE SO DESIRE AND, OLDENBURG EMPHASIZED, ONLY IN THAT CASE, THE DANES AS HOLDERS OF THE COUNCIL PRESIDENCY WOULD BE PREPARED TO UNDERTAKE A DIALOGUE WITH THE US ON BEHALF OF THE NINE. FOR THIS PURPOSE, FONMIN ANDERSEN MIGHT REQUEST A MEETING WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER DURING THE WEEK OF SEPT. 23-29 WHEN ANDERSEN IS IN NEW YORK FOR THE OPENING OF THE UNGA. THIS OF COURSE WILL AWAIT A MINISTERIAL DECISION OF THE NINE.

9. DCM ASKED WHETHER FRENCH FONMIN JOBERT WOULD ATTEND NEXT WEEK'S MEETING. THIS WAS STILL UNCLEAR, OLDENBURG EXPLAINED, ALTHOUGH THE OTHERS VERY MUCH WANTED HIM HERE.

10. IN CONCLUSION, OLDENBURG REPEATED THAT THE FRENCH PRICE FOR MOVING CLOSER TO THE OTHER EIGHT HAD BEEN AN UNDERSTANDING THAT THERE WOULD BE NO PERMANENT INSTITUTIONAL MACHINERY BETWEEN THE NINE

AND THE US, THAT, AS IT WAS PUT, THE NINE WOULD NOT BE TURNED INTO
TEN.

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